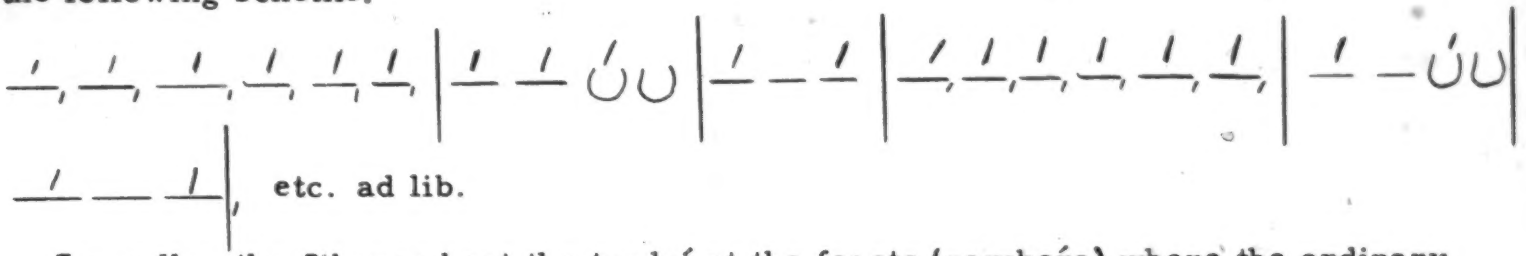
1: Karsten-.-111-112 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 202, 533, 787 (1928-29)

"The drum is beaten with a club made of a heavy kind of wood. It is chiefly used on three occasions, and there are consequently three essentially different ways of 'signalling'.

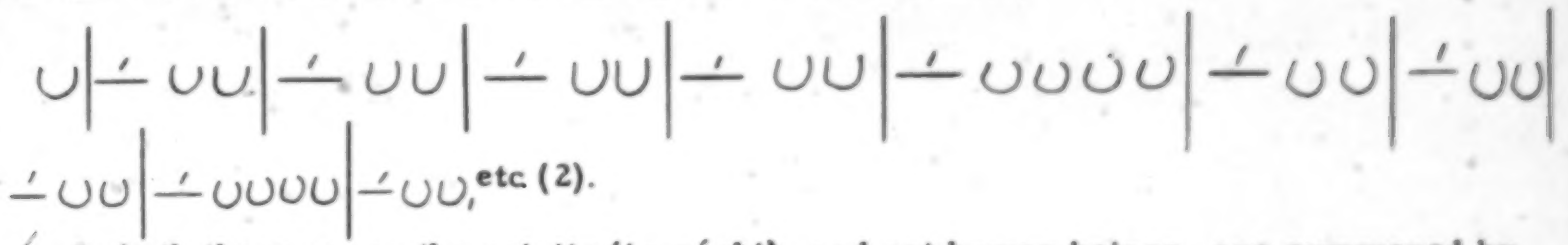
First, the tunduí is beaten at the feasts when the narcotics nateḿa or maikoa are ceremonially consumed. In this case the drumming is in very slow time, according to the following scheme:



etc. ad lib.

Secondly, the Jibaros beat the tunduí at the feasts (nambeŕa) where the ordinary manioc-beer (nihamańchi) or the beer made of the fruit of the chontaruŕu palm is ceremonially consumed. It is done according to the following scheme, where the first

feeble and short stroke has the character of an anacrusis:



In both these cases the spirits (iguańchi), and not human beings, are summoned by means of the tunduí. But thirdly, the Indians use the signal drum to summon their human friends in two events, namely, when a death has taken place in a house and when enemies are [112] making an attack upon it. Since a death is always set down by the Jibaros to the secret machinations of some enemy sorcerer, the situation in the two

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"2. —in regard to its quantity = ∪∪ ; ∪∪ = ∪ ; ´ means that the stroke is strongly accentuated."

events is essentially the same. The beating of the drum is a cry for help, or a notification that a crime has been committed. In this third case, i.e. when the drum is beaten for the purpose of giving friends notice of danger, the signalling consists of a series of short, fast strokes in a tone which, in each series, is at first forte or fortissimo and thereafter gradually diminishes. This is repeated several times. This particular mode of signalling is called Pakinmawae."

"Besides this war dance, the Jibaros try to secure victory over the enemy by a kind of war song. This war song, which is called Anéndrata, is sung by the warriors in the house before they start on the expedition.

The Anéndrata runs as follows:

Yachuta, yachuta, 'My brother, my brother,'
Méseta himersatai, 'Let us make war together!'
Winya uchiruna chichahei, 'To my son also I have said:'
Uchita, uchita, 'My son, my son,' [286]
Kakarum hasti, kákarum hasti, 'Make you strong, make you brave!'
Winyaka mastinyu, 'Me they won't kill!'
Wika miserchatinyu, 'I will not die!'
Shuara makatahei, 'Myself I will kill my enemy!'
Kànárahei, kànárahei, 'I have dreamed and my dreams have been good.'
Arútama weinikama, 'I have seen "the Old Ones!"'(1)
Shuara achiktahei, 'I will capture my enemy!'

"1. The Old Ones (arátama), the spirits of the ancestors, who appear to the warrior in the narcotic sleep and tell him that he will be able to kill his enemies."

Yamai ẋchikahei, 'I have him already!'
Mánya sa puhustahei, 'Presently I will be engaged in fighting!'
Wataki, shuarasha winiti, winiti, 'All right, may my enemy come, may he come!'
Winyasha mandoáti, 'And may he take my life if he can!'
Winya mandoáma assa, 'If he kills me,'
Úchi weinikati, 'my sons will certainly see (that it will be avenged).'
Chikichika mati, 'May he kill some one else!'

Anéndrata has much the same magical significance as the war dance enéma, it being believed to give victory over the enemy."

1: Karsten--431
533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"...the medicine-man tries to summon and favourably influence the spirits by imitating them in their outward appearance and by playing the sort of string instrument which is called turúmba in Quichua and tsayandúru in the Jibaro language. The latter is a simple bow of a special kind of wood with a cord of twisted chambira fibres. The Indian, when playing, touches the string with his mouth at one end of the bow, holding it in a horizontal position, and when twanging the string, is able to produce different tunes with it by certain movements of his lips. The tunes are very soft and perceptible only at a short distance, but are nevertheless believed to exert a mysterious influence upon the spirits whom the sorcerer addresses in playing the instrument.

In the same way as the Indians believe that they can summon the spirits and make them their friends by playing the 'musical bow', they believe that mysterious influence can be exerted upon them by beating the big drum tundúi. The condition in both cases, however, is that the Indian must be intoxicated by natéma or some other narcotic, for otherwise the demons will hardly appear. In dealing with the big 'signal' drum (p. 110 sq.) I have indicated the different ways in which the drum must be beaten on different occasions for the purpose of summoning the spirits. These occasions are the chonta feast and the natéma feast."

l: Karsten--466-467 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 763, 533 (1928-29)

"Wailing at Canelos is about the same as among the Jibaros. Similarly it is customary that visitors arriving at a house where a death has recently taken place are received wailing. The Canelos woman always wails singing, but since she sings violently sobbing, the melody is somewhat difficult to render. It is characteristic of this song that it always begins in a high and strong falsetto tone; then the voice gradually diminishes and the last tones are only heared[sic] as a low, distant murmur. The following is the usual mourning song of the Canelos woman:

Nyuca curilla,
Nyuca cusalla,
Imamant[1] saquishcani,
Imamant[1] hichuscani,
Imata tucushcani? [467]

In translation:

'My dear one,(1)
my dear little husband,
why have you left me,
why have you abandoned me?
What will it become of me?'"

"1. Curilla (a diminutive of curi, 'gold') literally means, 'My little gold.'"

1: Karsten--496
116, 533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"From the specimens of Indian songs I have given in previous chapters and which are sung for instance in connection with agriculture, at the feast of the women, and on other occasions, it has appeared that we can really speak of a lyric poetry of the Indians. Some of the songs are pure prayers, others magical conjurations, others merely spontaneous expressions of sorrow or joy, etc. I was confronted with one of my most difficult tasks in trying to note down these songs. Of those sung at the feast of the women the Jibaros evidently possess a much larger store than would seem to appear from my description of that feast, but those cited by me are in any case the most important and in general representative of the lyric poetry of the Indians. To note down songs of this kind, it is first and foremost necessary to know the language of the Indians perfectly. But besides this, the Jibaro women in their poetry frequently contract words and phrases so as to make them almost unintelligible, especially since they are generally able to recite the verses only singing, which makes the pronunciation of the words still more indistinct. If afterwards I mentioned sundry words to them the meaning of which I had not been able to catch, the woman in most cases could not explain it to me, however correctly I might pronounce it."

1: Karsten--496-497 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533 (1928-29)

"The words and the melody which accompanies them is to the Indian one and the same thing. Both spontaneously proceed from the same sentiment and cannot be separated. In both prayers and conjurations proper this connection is so intimate that the whole song would fail of its effect unless it were recited in the right tune. The very rhythm is supposed to possess some mysterious effect which is regarded as being almost as important as the power inherent in the words. The weight which the Indians attach to the musical side of their poetry from this point of view is intelligible, but at the same time it makes [497] us understand how essentially the latter, precisely on account of its practical aim, differs from the poetry of civilized peoples."

1: Karsten--497-498
116, 533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"Many of the Jibaro prayers and incantations, as I have pointed out before, are the exclusive intellectual property of the women, being particularly sung in connection with agriculture or at the great feasts. The most important of the songs addressed to the Earth-mother have already been cited, but there is a special kind of lyric poetry to which I wish still to call attention. At the great feasts, as I have mentioned before, it is customary, that, after the day's main ceremonies have taken place, the women appear dancing solo at the drinking-bouts, accompanying themselves with chants and songs which are directed to certain animals, especially certain beautiful birds of the forest (See p. 355). Such incantations are also sung at the drinking-bouts on other occasions. Birds addressed in this way are, for instance, the tucan (Rhamphastus), called tsukánga, the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea), called sumga, the great wild turkey (Crax elector), called máshu, and the pheasant (Penelope), called kúyu by the Jibaros. The birds are personified by the dancing woman and spoken to as if they were human beings. She gives them all sorts of pet names, calling herself the wife, mother, or sister of the particular bird addressed and praising its brilliant feather dress, its proud walk, etc. Songs of this category are probably comparatively numerous, but they are very simple and all much of the same kind. I shall give a couple of instances.

The cock-of-the-rock (sumga), one of the most beautiful birds of the forests of Western Amazonas, the Jibaro woman addresses in the following way:

Sumga noa assana,
sumga noachina,
tu nakúrahei:
Sumga aishmangshiru,
kapáka paháwue,
wisha hahúchi,
sumga noa assa,
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Being the wife of the cock-of-the-rock,
being the little wife of the sumga,
I jokingly sing to you thus:
Cock-of-the-rock, my little husband,[498]
wearing your many-coloured dress of feathers,
graceful in your movements!
I know I am useless myself,
but still I rejoice,
for I am the wife of the sumga--
So I jokingly sing!'

1: Karsten--497-498 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-3
116, 533 (1928-29)

To the pheasant (kuyu) the woman sings:

Apu, apu, kuyu,
indeshipi kuyu,
mite, mite hamei,
winya kuyu uchirka,
chapursa nambikahei.
Wisha kuyu tukúsmahei,
uhuchiruk hapik amue,
indeshipi kuyu--
tu nakúrahei.

In translation:

'Great pheasant, great pheasant,
pheasant with the long hair and the big tail,
my little son, whom I have intoxicated with the beer!
I have made myself like the pheasant,
putting on me your long tail
and dressing myself in your brilliant feathers--
So I jokingly sing.'"

1: Karsten--499-501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 533, 273 (1928-29)

"Speaking of the lyric poetry of the Indians I have yet to mention the incantations sung at one of the minor feasts, the chontaruru-feast. The fruit of the important chontaruru palm (Guilielma), called ui in the Jibaro language, grows ripe in February and March and is particularly appreciated on account of the beer brewed from it. Besides this, the fruit offers the Indians a most nourishing food for about two months of the year.

The feast is arranged as soon as part of the fruit so impatiently awaited has ripened and beer can be brewed from it. The fruit is collected and carried home by the men, boiled in big clay pots in the same way as is the manioc, and then masticated and well mixed with saliva, whereupon the substance is allowed to ferment. The process of fermentation, which takes place at night, is 'hastened' by dancing, singing, and beating the big drum tundúi. Several big clay vessels (muitsa), the mouths of which are covered with banana leaves, are placed on the floor in the middle of the room. When darkness sets in, about six o'clock in the evening, all men and women arrange themselves in a ring round the clay vessels and start dancing and singing, in their incantations reviewing the whole 'history' of the chonta from the very moment the little sprout is planted in the earth by the men until the time which has now arrived when the tree is full-grown and its fruits have ripened. The dancing and chanting is continued until after midnight. Early in the following morning the drinking-feast begins. While the men drink and get intoxicated by the beer, they incessantly sing the following incantation in which they

address those quadrupeds and birds which in the animal kingdom most appreciate the chonta fruit, especially a parrot called tuishi, and another bird of the forest called kiruánchama, as well as the wild pig (pakki) which also eagerly eats the fruit that falls down from the chonta palms. They call these animals and birds poetically their 'brothers'and 'brothers-in-law', inviting them to take of the fruit which is now ripe and to prepare chontaruru-beer. Thus, the Indians fancy, the fruit will go on ripening and be abundant.

This incantation runs as follows:

Seiru kiruánchama,
amue ui nikápsata,
ui nikápsata!
Ui nereáwue, ui nereáwue, [500]
ui nereáwue!
Ui natinyu, ui natinyu.
Ityursanki nerecheindya,
nerecheindya, nerecheindya?

In translation:

'Parrot, my brother-in-law,
now come along and take of the chonta,

come and take of the chonta!
The chonta fruit is ripening, the chonta fruit is ripening!
Up to brew chonta-beer, up to brew chonta-beer!
Why does not the fruit quickly ripen,
Why does it not ripen?'

....

The men not only celebrate the chonta feast by chanting this incantation, but also by beating the big drum tundúi in the particular time that is customary at the Jibaro drinking-feasts and which has been referred to before (p. 111). By beating the drum in this way the Indians invite their ancestral spirits, who were great warriors and medicine-men and are now believed to live in the mountains and hills, to take part in the drinking-feast and to rejoice with their living descendants. These spirits, although in normal cases more feared than loved, now appear as the friends and allies of the Indians, being under the same [501] magical constraint as in the narcotic sleep produced by natéma or maikoa. From this point of view the great drinking-feasts of the Jibaros clearly assume a religious character."

1: Karsten--501-502
116, 533

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro-1

"There is comparatively little to say about the music which accompanies the poetry of the Jibaros.

The rhythm in general is well marked, being emphasized by the accompanying instruments, by the movements of the dancers, by weapons brandished, as in the Enéma war-dance, by feet stamping the ground, etc. The melodic system is evidently based on the scale of seven intervals, as is our own music. This fact, as well as the generally slow and ceremonial time in which the songs are sung, makes it as a rule easy to catch and note down the melodies. The Indians only seem to know our major scale; I never heard them sing in the minor key. Their musical ear appears to be well developed, both men and women keeping to the tune remarkably well.

The melodies of the Jibaros, like those of the South American Indians [502] in general, are simple and as it were fragmentary, and the constant repetition of the same short musical motive forms the whole song. Professor E. M. v. Hornbostel has indicated as characteristic of the music of the American Indians the coordination of many similar musical units joined together 'in the same way as pearls are strung into a necklace'. He also makes another interesting observation, that the same feature appears in their ornamental art, where whole series of similar 'geometric' ornaments frequently follow one another, and he takes this to be characteristic of the whole Indian race.(1) Both

"1. KOCH Grünberg, Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Bd. III. Ethnographie, p.416."

these observations are certainly true in regard to the Jibaros. To become convinced of this fact we need only consider the melodies above cited, or the ornamental designs applied to the clay vessels illustrating this work. I would add in this connection that the peculiarity of constantly repeating the same simple motive, perhaps with certain small variations, also appears in the ceremonial speeches made at their great feasts and on other occasions."

1: Karsten--502 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 533, 177, 151 (1928-29)

"The Indians are extremely fond of song and music and it is easy to understand that in this sphere they have borrowed much from the whites. Thus among the Chaco Indians I found tunes which were evidently borrowed. Among the Jibaros, on the other hand, foreign influence has in this respect also been insignificant, owing naturally to the conservative character of the whole Jibaro culture. As far as I can see, all of their melodies noted down by me in this work are genuinely Indian."

2: Stirling--92 [3] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 533

"The Jivaros in common with most American Indians are fond of music, both vocal and instrumental. Dances and ceremonies are always accompanied by songs, the performers singing in unison. The songs run the entire gamut of human emotions---warlike songs, songs of triumph, mourning songs, love songs, and songs which represent ordinary prayers. Singing may or may not have instrumental accompaniment. The two types of drums in use have already been described."

2: Stirling--94 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 463, 533

"While all Jivaros sing and all Jivaro men are able to play upon the flutes, some are regarded as being much more talented than others, and these are more frequently called upon to perform."

13: Rivet--253 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 533

Dancing, music and singing are high in honor. I have already said that the Jíbaros lack grace. According to the missionaries, their music and their singing would be unbearable to the ear of a White, but it is necessary to take into account the performers' drunkenness during the course of the feasts. The proof of that is that one of my friends who lived in Gualaquiza for a long time, where he was known and loved by the savages, and who had occasion to pass an evening with one of them without drinking, gave an entirely different opinion: "In the middle of the entertainment", he wrote me, "I asked that the two wives of Santiago (so the Indian was called) let us hear some songs. Santiago agreed and even joined his voice with theirs. I hear even now the harmony of this song; it was so gentle and so melodious that I had them repeat it two or three times. I profited by this in order to put the words in my notebook; finally, I asked the Jíbaro the meaning of what I had written, and I acquired the conviction that they sang whatever came to their minds, without any order, in other words, that they improvised words to a familiar air."

Unfortunately, up to now no traveller has taken phonograph recordings among the Indians.

25: Vigna --43 [4] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 151, 533

The Jíbaro is very seldom out of tune in his songs, for he has a very keen ear. He uses a reed flute, and through a simple melody with an inflection of sadness he expresses his sentiments. Many times, sweethearts communicate their love by means of these melodies.

25: Vigna--48[2] (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 533, 764

The song that the Jîbaros use as an expression of sorrow, is intoned to the only musical motif that they know: the chant of the witch when he cures the sick. While crying, they evoke the figure of the deceased and the ancestors with so much love and such tender appellatives that they draw tears. During the inflection of the voice, in the weeping, they repeat rhythmically the vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

26: Brüning--73 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 533

When we returned from our trip we witnessed a phantastic scene in Huaracayo, in the house of our Curaca Laichape, who had accompanied us on our journey. Inside the house the men with their war decorations moved pairwise in a circle, each one playing the flute, and occasionally singing, too. All of them were slightly tipsy due to the masato. The women, likewise under the influence of masato, accompanied the men by their singing and exhorted them to drink more and more. Some were seated or lying on their beds or in their seats, overcome by too much masato. Since the brujo had given us up as a total loss, they now celebrated our happy return.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going for away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jivaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[6] The Jivaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the returning war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsas as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the tsantsa feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> Be return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter II

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

533
539
926

I am like an anaconda.
No one can get near my house
Because there is a lake around it.
I am a jaguar,
The bravest that is,
And no one
Can get near my house.

Song by a man to his enemies when he believes that they are about to attack

595 The center of Jivaro life is the individual house, normally
951 occupied by a polygynous nuclear family and surrounded by a garden in deep isolation in the forest. The house is typically built beside a small stream on a hillock where there are stands of soft or medium-hard wood. Such trees, especially palms, are easy to cut down to make garden clearings and are also preferred for house construction and firewood. The location of the house on high ground is not only better for drainage, but also furnishes a view across the surrounding garden to facilitate defensive fire in case of enemy attack (see Plate 1).

342 The dwelling is usually a large and well-made structure, oval in ground plan, with a single-gabled roof (see Figure 1). The roof is made of closely woven *kempaniik* palm thatch and is supported by nine center posts as well as by the smaller
[712] house wall posts. The windowless wall is built of stout chonta palm (*Guilielma* sp.) staves set vertically into the ground about an inch apart to permit light and air to enter,

/p. 41/ /text continues on p. 43/

34 Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

462 to the task. A man normally takes pride in his ability as
283 a weaver, as evidenced by this yarn-spinning song:

[286]
[533]
[539]

For me it is very easy
To spin yarn,
For I am a man-spider.
I am a man-spider.
Therefore I am adept.

My hand is like the hand
Of a spider.
Because of this
I make the spindle hum.

386 Men spin yarn from home-grown cotton and dye it by
[283] dipping it into vegetal solutions. Special clay is sometimes
[177] rubbed into wet yarn to produce dark shades. European dyes
286 still are unknown. Cotton kilts (*itipi*) of a standard size and
294 decoration are woven on a backstrap loom. Women's dresses (*tsnachi*) are made by sewing two such cotton kilts together.

291 The home-woven kilts and dresses are the most common type of daily dress. Both men's kilts and women's dresses are simply pieces of cloth wrapped around the body and held together by a string or belt. The men's kilt is typically held in place by a bark string, while the women's dress is fastened over the right shoulder, and a string or home-woven cotton belt keeps it closed. Both garments are made of heavily woven cloth highly resistant to tearing, and capable of enduring daily wear for about four years.

291 While home-woven garments constitute the daily garb, the
292 wearing of machine-woven trade clothing or cloth is reserved
177 for visiting and receiving visitors. At such times, men who
574 have trade shirts put them on, and men who possess two

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

for it is believed that Nuŋuí can hear it this way as well. A typical version is as follows:

> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I sing,
> So that the manioc will grow well.
> For when I do not sing,
> There is not much production.
> I am of Nuŋuí.
> Therefore I harvest faster than others.

In addition to providing Nuŋuí with a dancing place and treating her with respect through songs, the mistress of the garden provides her with "babies" to encourage her to remain at the garden. These are three red stones which appear to the women in hallucinogen-induced visions and dreams as babies for Nuŋuí. The stones, which are chips of unworked red jasper, are known as the "stones of Nuŋuí" or the "stones of manioc" and supposedly can only be found through having a dream in which Nuŋuí appears and tells the woman, "I am hiding a 'stone of manioc' in such-and-such a place." Then the woman must go out early in the morning, before eating, to find the stone, because if she were to delay, it would disappear as Nuŋuí made her morning withdrawal down into the earth. Only one such stone is found as a result of a given dream, and each is jealously hoarded. They are hidden in the center of the garden under an overturned food-serving bowl. A myth explaining the origin of this practice is as follows:

> In the olden time there was no manioc or any other agricultural crop. The people just ate the leaf of the *uŋusi* [a species of the Araceae]. In that time many people died of hunger. Since they were hungry, they said, "Let us go to this stream. Let us catch crabs." As they caught crabs, they followed the stream

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

members of the family. A portion of one such song is as follows:

> Don't suck the blood of my husband
> And also don't suck the blood of my daughter.
> When you want to suck blood,
> Suck the blood of my enemies.
> When my husband comes,
> He will look very beautiful and very clear.
> But when our enemies come,
> They will come very pale
> And in the form of demons.[4]
> And you will know
> Who will die,
> Who will die.[5]
> And when they enter this garden,
> They will have their blood sucked.
> All, all I can call,
> Even the plantain itself.
> I am a woman of Nuŋuí.

To protect themselves from such blood sucking, visitors to other persons' houses sometimes stick a branch of manioc in their belts in order to pass safely through a thick stand of the plant. Parents also employ the blood-sucking belief in telling children why they should not play in the garden.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Chapter III

SOCIAL RELATIONS

533
539

When I die
You will look for young men.
But while I live
Put more beer
In this beautiful bowl.
Let us dance, my little wife.

Social dance song

361 The interior Jívaro are scattered in some 245 houses over an estimated area of 1,844 square miles (4,775 square kilometers).[1] The territory maximally involved extends roughly
131 from near the Río Chiguasa south-southeastward to the upper Río Yaupi and from the western slopes of the Cordillera de
161 Cutucú eastward to the Río Pangui (see Map 2). With an estimated nine persons per house, the total number of Jívaro utilizing this area would be approximately 2,205, or 1.19 persons per square mile (.46 persons per square kilometer). Nowhere is this population concentrated into villages, being instead dispersed in loose-knit neighborhood groupings of ir-
361 regular size. The interior Jívaro "community" is a neighborhood of widely distributed households in which membership is not formally or usually very clearly defined and in which the abundance of land is accompanied by an absence of definitions or claims of territoriality.

101 A person's definition of his neighborhood usually depends
194 upon his distance from it. For example, if his home is near the
103 *miatuá entsa* (jaguar stream) tributary of the Río Cangaimi,

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553 born. In some families, the father names both sons and daughters; but in others, the father may give the boys their names and the mother may bestow the names on the girls. If the father's father or the mother's mother are still alive, [577] they may be asked to name the child of their own sex. In any event, ideally the child should be named for a deceased relative of the parental or grandparental generation on either side of the family who, if male, was respected for killing and working hard and, if female, respected for working hard. [551] The names are often those of animals, especially birds, while many others have no meaning other than as names. Within a 304 few days of naming, both the male and female infants have their ears pierced.

847 Infanticide is regularly practiced only in the case of deformed children. It is accomplished by crushing the infant with a foot. Sometimes unmarried girls kill their "illegitimate" babies immediately upon birth if they have no expectation of marrying the father. Infanticide of undeformed babies [845] by married women seems to be unheard of. Birth of twins is never a reason for infanticide.

846 After the first two weeks or so, the new mother returns to the garden. The work there is arduous, involving much squatting and stooping in connection with harvesting manioc 854 and, especially, weeding. As a result, she normally leaves the infant at home in a small hammock by her bed. Since the garden work takes many hours of her day, the baby often becomes hungry and cries a great deal without getting attention. [857] If there is a daughter approximately four years of age or more in the household, the baby's mother will ask her to tend it. When the infant cries considerably, the baby-tender will pick it up and sing to it. Not surprisingly, the typical lullaby 854 among the Jívaro is not sung by the mother, but by a female • 533 539

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child, and the words of it are addressed to the mother to come back from the garden to nurse the infant:

Dear mother, dear mother
Come soon, come soon.
The baby is crying,
The baby is crying.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
For lack of your milk,
It will die.
Dear mother, come quickly,
Dear mother, come quickly,
The little monkey is singing,
The little monkey is singing.

Often the mother does not return for several hours, and the baby-tender often attempts to satisfy the infant's hunger by chewing up boiled manioc and spitting it into the baby's mouth. Any other mothers in the household who may be lactating do not offer to feed the baby, and wet-nursing is unknown. If a mother finds herself unable to provide the baby with enough milk, she feeds it masticated manioc or a bit of beer.

When the baby begins teething it will also be fed steamed hearts of palm with a consistency softer than that of boiled noodles. Small bits of chewed meat are provided soon thereafter.

The birth of a new baby normally does not entail the weaning of the earlier one, and it is a common sight to see an infant and a four- or five-year-old being fed by the mother, with one at each breast. Puppies are highly valued and cared for by the women, and one may likewise be seen being breast-fed simultaneously by a woman along with

854 533 • 539 853 862 [231]

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Parties, centering around manioc beer drinking and *hansematā*, or social dances, are the main form of regular group interaction with neighbors. Most typically they occur when a man has worked hard for several days felling trees to expand the garden and wishes to invite a few neighbors to spend a night in recreation with him. He instructs his wives to make a large quantity of beer and then during the next few days does much hunting until he has brought home a good quantity of meat (that which is obtained first is roasted and kept dry and unspoiled in a basket high over a fire). By this time the beer has fermented sufficiently, and he goes to the houses of several friendly neighbors who are also usually close relatives.

Such parties, usually on a slightly smaller scale, also can simply occur when another family happens to drop by on an afternoon to visit or stay overnight, if there is a respectable beer supply on hand. In the latter case, when the party is unplanned, a chicken or two may be killed for meat, since the host may not have wild game meat immediately on hand. Planned parties occur when chonta palm fruit is harvested and made into beer, and also to celebrate when someone has survived snakebite.

After the visitors have been drinking and conversing for a few hours, a few flutes and a monkey skin drum will be brought out, and a kind of "jam session" begins. Soon the women put on snail shell dance belts, and the drinkers begin to dance in pairs, males facing females. The woman hops up and down, her shell belt tinkling the rhythm, while her male partner steps back and forth or strolls casually around while beating the drum. As darkness falls, copal torches are lit, and the party often continues until the middle of the night or early morning. As the pairs of men and women dance opposite each other, they sing in a kind of counterpoint,

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each his own words, which are sometimes improvised. The content is typically romantic and flirtatious, often with an ironic humor. The following are two examples of these *hansematä* songs, the first that of a woman, the second of a man:

Why are you so near to me?
For they will come after us.
This other one
Who came very close
Caused me to boil.
It would be better if you
Got farther away.
And what is your name?
I'm going to be sleeping here on a bed.

I asked her,
"Where are you going?"
She answered me, saying,
"I go deep into the eastern forest."
That is what she told me.
By the way,
Another truth is that a stone can talk!

While such *hansematä* songs have a courtship function between single persons, they are sung by all the dancers, including married persons dancing with the spouses of others. As the drinking and dancing proceed, flirtatious behavior may become overt, extending to pinching and other familiarities in the dim light. The quantities of beer drunk require frequent exits from the house to urinate, and not uncommonly a female, exiting from the women's end of the house, will rendezvous secretly with a male, who has left from the opposite door, to satisfy a call of nature different from that

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578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
796 immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
[774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a
basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
765 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
796 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
727 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
[619] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[571] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[181] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
• [533] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[535] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:
[539]

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.